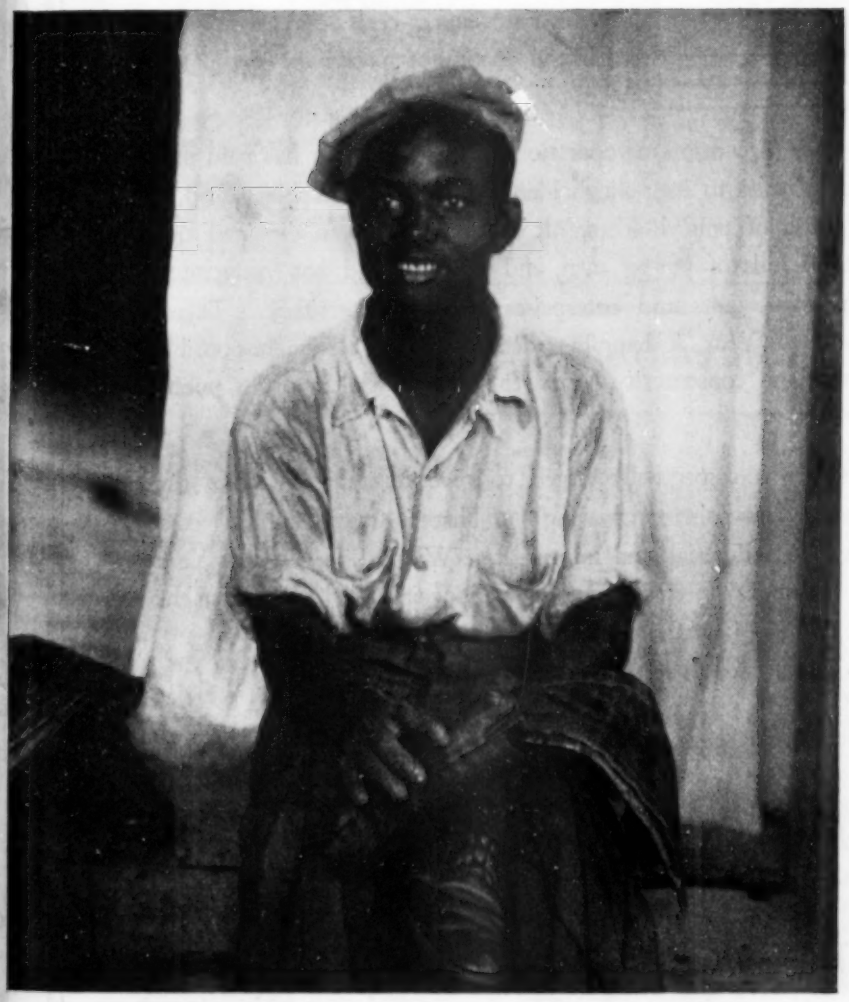
Periodical

JANUARY, 1934 FIFTEEN CENTS

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES



DU BOIS on ROOSEVELT ROLPH and HITLER SEGREGATION

CUBA: A Province in Revolt by J. B. Matthews

THE CRAWFORD CASE

NORMAN THOMAS Discusses — Can America Go Fascist?

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor* George W. Streator, *Acting Business Manager*

Volume 41, No. 1 **Contents for January, 1934** *Whole No. 278*

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THE CRISIS FOR FEBRUARY

This month we are publishing timely articles on the New Deal and American Dollar Imperialism. Next month we will go further into these questions, presenting other points of view that are gaining currency. THE CRISIS believes more than ever before that there is a need for clear and brave thinking on problems and programs affecting the darker world. In addition, THE CRISIS will continue to encourage fiction and poetry.

It has taken just 157 years for a President of the United States to say in plain English that lynching is "a vile form of collective murder."

•

What we need is not more money nor less; not a gold standard or a silver standard; not higher prices or lower prices; but the abolition of private profit as the main basis of industry.

•

The secret of Lindbergh's success is neither dumb luck nor extraordinary skill; but infinite capacity for taking pains beforehand.

•

It is possible that the same gentleman who killed Cock Robin may be responsible for the death of the League of Nations.

•

When is a free and independent nation neither independent nor free? When it belongs to the British Empire, says Ireland.

•

We may yet be able to date the fall of Hitler in Germany at the disfranchisement of German women.

AS THE CROW FLIES

Which brings us to remark that every statesman who yells about Children, Church and Kitchen, ought to be made to bear twins, to listen to as many sermons as we have, and to wash dishes and diapers for at least ten years.

•

Inborn culture manifests itself in characteristic ways; in time of stress, England rallies around the income of the Aristocracy; France overthrows the Cabinet to keep down taxes; and the United States stages a lynching to appease the morons.

•

The United States despite itself is compelled to play the old game at Montevideo: America for all, providing the U.S.A. is America; no intervention, except in Cuba; no public collection of private debt, except in Haiti; the Monroe Doctrine forever in the interests of Monroe's country.

•

Now that liquor is here, what of it?

Spain has lurched to the Right and is trying to outlaw the Left. The last revolution was too easy to last, and now it must all be done again. The Grandees and the Clergy stand arrayed in the old battle against Labor and Poverty.

•

And so Mr. Litvinoff, with the stars and stripes protruding from his upper, left-hand coat pocket, thumbed his nose at Berlin, waved a greeting toward Rome, and landed in Moscow.

•

The Chase Bank did what all the other big banks did during the boom, only it did a little more of it. And now what are we doing to do about it? Nothing.

•

Ex-President Dawes' Chicago bank got ninety nice little millions from the government's pocket and has repaid thirty; the rest is now due "on demand." Hell and Maria! Fill up the old pipe and demand be damned!

•

The Women of the World got a pat on the back at Montevideo, but the American ladies could only get together on bridge rules.

THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15*c a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2,* 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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It invites to its comradeship men who desire to train for a leadership that will exemplify this way.

The Second Semester begins Monday, February 5, 1934.

Any who wish to enter at that time should address at once

The Dean of the College, Lincoln University at Lincoln University, Pa.

The Year of Jubilee

By MARY WHITE OVINGTON

ON Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1934, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be twenty-five years old. There had been committee meetings before this date, but on February 12, 1909, the committee started its first publicity in a Call, written by Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, and signed by many prominent writers, educators, clergymen, publicists. Among them were six members of our present Board. This Call told of the injustice and cruelty practiced against the Negro, of disfranchisement, segregation and lynching. It ended by calling a conference to be held in May of that year "for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

That was twenty-five years ago. Twenty-five years of work lies between that date and our date of celebration. We started without money, unpopular (those were the days when you must talk not of "rights" but of "duties"), in a tiny office on Vesey Street. The only thing pretentious about us was our newly adopted name.

THE CRISIS

IN November, 1910, THE CRISIS, the official organ of the National Association, was first published. It has appeared regularly every month since then. Its editor, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, came to the Association in 1910 as Director of Publications and Research. The Niagara Movement, of which Dr. Du Bois was the secretary, had been formed three years previously, adopting a platform on much the same lines as that of the N.A.A.C.P. With the securing of Dr. Du Bois's services many of the most active members of the Niagara Movement became active N.A.A.C.P. members.

ANTI-LYNCHING

IN 1911, the Association published its first pamphlet against lynching and held its first large meeting of protest. In 1919, it published "Thirty Years of Lynching," still the authoritative book on this subject in the United States. Its secretary, James Weldon Johnson, backed by all the Association's branches and by a powerful Women's Anti-Lynching Committee of which the late Mary B. Talbert was president, secured wide publicity concerning the atrocities of lynching, and had whole-page advertisements in eight large dailies throughout the country. He nearly secured federal action. The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill passed the House and would have passed the Senate but for the failure of the Republican leaders to push it. The conscience of the country, however, was aroused, sentiment against lynching was made articulate, and lynchings have greatly diminished. In 1909, the year when we started, there were eighty-nine lynchings. In 1932, our most recent figures, there were ten. The terrible lynchings in 1933, and the praise of mob violence by Governor Rolph of California, show how much is yet to be done.

WHERE CAN WE LIVE?

THE City of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1914, passed an ordinance segregating the races. Baltimore had already passed such an ordinance and they were put through in one city after another. We took up the Louisville case. But for the Supreme Court's decision in this case that such ordinances were unconstitutional, the United States would have been a mass of black ghettoes today, ghettoes into which people were forced by law and from which they could not escape.

THE COURTS AND THE MOB SPIRIT

IN 1925, Scipio A. Jones, on behalf of the N.A.A.C.P., carried the case of the Arkansas peons to the Supreme Court of the United States. There it was argued by Moorfield Storey. In a memorable decision, the Supreme Court held that when a court is dominated by the mob spirit there has not been a proper trial, and that the person so tried is entitled to a new trial. This decision is the means by which the Scottsboro boys were able to secure a new trial. All of submerged America may thank the N.A.A.C.P. for this decision.

JUDGE PARKER STAYS AT HOME

THE nomination of Judge John J. Parker for the Supreme Court of the United States was sent by President Hoover to the Senate for confirmation. In looking up Judge Parker's record it was found that he had spoken in favor of denying the Negro the vote. This contradicted the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution which he would be sworn to interpret. *His name was not confirmed by the Senate.* Never have the members of the Association so shown their power and their solidarity as in this case.

THE BRANCHES

IN twenty-five years the N.A.A.C.P. has built up an organization that for effectiveness and unselfish devotion can hardly be duplicated in the United States. Our members have little leisure, they are hard-working men and women; but our branches hold together, they enter into local cases, they respond to all appeals from the National Office to take part in demonstrations; they raise funds for their own use and send half of all their memberships to the National Headquarters. The officers are not paid for their services. From zero in 1909, the branches number 378. In the North and West you cannot go to a city of any size without finding a branch of the N.A.A.C.P. The larger centers of the South have their branch units and the smaller cities are starting new branches every month.

These are a few of our accomplishments. The most sanguine among us who, in 1909, met in response to that first Call never expected to see so active, so aggressive, so far-flung an Association as we have today. We were just a voice of protest at first. We did not know that we should have great cases before the Supreme Court and succeed in all but one—and that was thrown out on a technicality. We did not visualize our young colored lawyers, Charles H. Houston, William H. Hastie, and others who are now so splendidly and unselfishly defending our cases in court. We did not know that our literature would be all over the world, that our news stories would have millions of readers. We formed our little group almost in desperation, doubting, but feeling that some one must voice opinion against the lynchings and riots and the constant taking away of privilege that was happening to the Negro all over the United States.

But if we have accomplished much there is infinitely more to do. Never was so much done for the people by the Federal Government. We need to see that the Negro is not forgotten. Discriminaion, discrimination and again discrimination must be fought over and over again. We have just begun.

N. A. A. C. P. MARCHING SONG

(TUNE, *Marching Through Georgia*)

Twenty-five full years ago we started on our way,
Bound to give the colored man his place before the day—
Everybody knows that we are here and here to stay
As we go marching together.
Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll shout the Jubilee!
Hurrah! Hurrah! For the N.A.A.C.P.!
East and West and North and South unite for victory
As we go marching together.

The urban population is given for Southern States. We have a right to expect results from the urban population.

State	Total	Urban	State	Total	Urban	State	Total	Urban
Alabama	944,834	268,450	Maryland	276,379	.....	Oklahoma	172,198	.....
Arizona	10,749	.....	Massachusetts	52,365	.....	Oregon	2,234	.....
Arkansas	478,463	89,162	Michigan	169,453	.....	Pennsylvania	431,257	.....
California	81,048	.....	Minnesota	9,445	.....	Rhode Island	9,913	.....
Colorado	11,828	.....	Mississippi	1,009,718	133,987	So. Carolina	793,681	138,354
Connecticut	29,354	.....	Missouri	223,840	.....	So. Dakota	646	.....
Dist. of Col.	132,068	.....	Montana	1,256	.....	Tennessee	477,646	240,168
Florida	431,828	210,292	Nebraska	13,752	.....	Texas	854,964	329,829
Georgia	1,071,125	316,637	Nevada	516	.....	Utah	1,108	.....
Illinois	328,972	.....	New Hampshire	790	.....	Vermont	568	.....
Indiana	111,982	.....	New Jersey	208,828	.....	Virginia	650,165	213,401
Iowa	17,380	.....	New Mexico	2,850	.....	Washington	6,840	.....
Kansas	66,344	.....	New York	412,814	.....	West Virginia	114,893	.....
Kentucky	226,040	116,561	No. Carolina	918,647	246,237	Wisconsin	10,739	.....
Louisiana	776,326	257,463	No. Dakota	377	.....	Wyoming	1,250	.....
Maine	1,096	.....	Ohio	309,304	.....			

The Second Mile

By WILLIAM PICKENS

OUR attention is called to the fact that we have now passed through one generation in the first systematic effort to make American Negroes economically, politically and socially a free people. That is but the first mile. We propose to celebrate the passage of that mile post and to start our journey on the "second mile" by a most democratic campaign: A penny *for every Negro in the United States*. Twelve million pennies,—$120,000. That is an achievement within our capacity. And notice that we do not say a penny *from* every Negro, but *for* every Negro. Some of us are babies and some of us are not accessible. Those who are old enough and able should give for themselves and for the others who may not be reached. Even five cents pays for oneself and for four others; a dollar pays for oneself and ninety-nine others. That means that we need not fail, for a minority of us can really do the job.

We propose that every Branch of the Association and every other organization that is willing to join with us shall celebrate Lincoln's birthday and the birthday of the Association on February 12, 1934, by holding mass meetings, or dinners, or other forms of association, and review the history of the last twenty-five years, and make contribution toward the local quota of the Quarter-Century Fund, which quota shall be equal in cents to the number of colored people in each community. Those who cannot have meetings on February 12th should plan for some other date,—if possible, within the first fifteen days of February. We shall help by making suggestions for speakers for these occasions, when it is desired. We ask every Branch and every other organization to send us the names of their committeemen who will co-operate with us in carrying out these plans.

We summon the aid of

Churches
Political Clubs
Schools
Y. W. C. A.'s
Y. M. C A.'s
Social Groups
Lodges
Religious Organizations
Hospitals
Colleges
Theatrical Companies
Clubs
Businesses
Fraternities

and any other organization or group that is willing to help us.

THE first group to send in their penny-a-head was the colored men of a soldiers' home in the state of Kansas,—and the very first school to claim that honor was Piney Woods School, headed by Laurence Jones, who sent a beautiful letter and the money for the 432 souls in that institution, including the blind students and the babies. Hampton Institute came next, the President sending 2000 pennies ($20.00) for the entire school family—the teachers and students of Hampton Institute and the Phoenix School.

Of course, many parts of the rural south cannot be reached, so that the urban south, and the north, east and west will have to over-pay their small local population quotas to make up the grand total of 12,000,000 pennies. We have listed and figured out what each state and its principal cities would have to pay to go over the top with their own local quotas,—based on the 1930 census records. There are interesting revelations when we discover what some of these states and cities gave in 1932, in relation to their population: Springfield, Mass., seems to hold the banner place among cities, for with a Negro population of a little more than 3,000, they sent in $300, about 10 pennies per capita. Wyoming holds the same position among states, having sent $127, which is about 15 pennies each for its 859 Negroes. It is evident that larger states with great Negro populations, mostly or largely rural, present a more difficult problem: one great state, with more than a million Negroes, sent in $29 to help fight for their rights,—which divided up per capita can only be represented by six decimal places (in ten thousandths), and when multiplied by 1000 (of those colored people) will not quite make three cents! Certainly this state has wide room for improvement: one cent a head would be almost a 400-fold improvement.

And this grand objective of 12 million pennies will include also whatever is given by white people and the people of any other race, during the entire stretch of 1934, toward the national work of the N.A.A.C.P. It will include all the income of the National Office, of every sort. It is an aim within our reach.

PLAYS

NEW COURAGE

Scene: Jersey City bus, bound for Staten Island.

Time: Day that New York papers carried story about California lynching, and Governor Rolph's observation that the lynching of the two white men was a great lesson to America.

Characters: A bus crowded with passengers, including First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth "White Americans," with a scattering of other strains, Jewish, Italian, and a lone colored passenger, a woman; Mike, a bus driver.

FIRST "WHITE AMERICAN" (*shifting his tobacco and talking loudly*): The Governor's a man after my own heart.

SECOND (*eagerly*): I'll say he is.

FIRST: He's got courage that fellow, get what I mean?

FIRST: What we need is some guys like that up here where these damn Niggers don't know their places.

SECOND (*calling to Mike, the bus driver*): Hey, Mike! Look whose sitting by a Nigger. Jim's sitting by a Nigger!

(*Mike says nothing; grips his wheel tighter, drives ahead.*)

FIRST: If we had her down where I come from! Boy, would she git up, and how!

THIRD: I'll say she would.

ALL "WHITE AMERICANS": You said it!

(*Other passengers look nervously about. A dark-Italian twitches nervously and moves closer to the window.*)

FIRST: Keeps Niggers in their places. The Governor ought to been in my State.

SECOND: Lots of California people comes from the South.

THIRD: Sure.

FOURTH: I got a uncle out there. Swell climate.

SECOND: I'll say. Swell climate. Hot like hell for kidnappers, though.

THIRD: Boy, I reckon!

FIRST: Guess them kidnappers got mixed up with wop gangsters.

SECOND: Yeh, I reckon they went wrong.

FOURTH: Say, Mike, I say, look who's sitting by a Nigger!

FIFTH (*who is seated by colored passenger, winks his eye at others*): How'm I doin'?

ALL "WHITE AMERICANS": Gorgeous. Swell. Chocolate. Gimme cream with mine.

FIRST: Where you from, Mike?

FIFTH: Naw. Mike's from California, ain't you, Mike. San Jose.

FIRST: Good place to be from.

SECOND: Hell, Mike's born on Staten Island. Never been anywhere but 'tween here and Journal Square.

THIRD: What a guy.

(*The bus stops and the colored passenger moves forward and sits down by the dark Italian, who appears panic stricken.*)

SECOND: I'll say. Say, looks like we get more room.

FIRST: Look who's too good to sit by Charley. Why, the dirty Nigger.

SECOND: I'll say. Nerve.

THIRD: Don't know their places.

FIRST: That's why we got laws where I come from.

(*Bus stops again. Colored passenger gets up, looks straight at Mike, the Bus Driver, takes his number, alights.*)

SECOND: Well, of all the nerve! She took Mike's number.

(*Mike flushes and a cold sweat breaks out on his face.*)

MIKE (*to himself, his lips trembling*): What did she expect me to do? They paid their fare.

(*The dark Italian gets off hurriedly at the next stop.*)

FIRST: What you reckon she might do?

SECOND: She got his number.

THIRD: Reckon she'll write in?

FOURTH: God, she might.

SECOND: I'll say.

FIRST (*weakly*): The Governor was right. Ought to keep them in their places.

——GEORGE STREATOR.

A SIGN

Scene: Private study of Pastor of nondescript but rich New York Church, white and American to the core.

Time: Morning after Governor Rolph of California told newspapers that lynching of two kidnappers was object lesson to world.

Cast: A round-faced, cleanly shaved young prelate and his wife.

PRELATE: Did you see the papers, Suzella?

SHE: About that horrible lynching?

PRELATE: Yes, but that's not all. That Governor out there has the guts.

SHE: Yes? What did he do?

PRELATE: Do? Nothing at all. He said that this lynching, horrible as it is would be an awful lesson to America.

SHE: But, the lynching, dear, that wasn't the thing to do, you see. The law . . .

PRELATE (*waxing excited*): Yes, dear, but the example. The people need a sign that God will and does punish. This was a sign, dear, a sign!

SHE (*as if crushed*): A sign, yes, but a crime, nevertheless.

PRELATE (*not hearing her*): Ah, my sermon for Sunday! "A Sign from God!" That will make them set up. That will fill these pews. Monday's papers! They'll come to hear me then.

SHE (*half to herself*): Perhaps it was a sign.

PRELATE (*catching the last word*): Yes, A SIGN.

(*Takes his pen*)

(*Writes*)

"Dear Governor: I read your statement with admiration. America needs something like that to call her back to God. Truly your words were prophetic. Sincerely yours."

(*Reads aloud to himself*)

SHE: Do you think they will print it?

PRELATE: Print it? Why the papers will fairly eat that up. And with all those Southerners in my congregation, why, the church will be packed! Why, why, in five years, I'll be Bishop! A SIGN.

(*Rushes to call the press and the telegraph company.*)

Can America Go Fascist?

By NORMAN THOMAS

PLEASE notice that the question which stands as a title to this article does not read: "Is America Fascist?" It is not Fascist in any correct sense of the word. President Roosevelt's immediate program is not Fascism; his powers great as they are do not amount to true dictatorship, and it is probable that it is his intention to make his plan an alternative to Fascism rather than a road to it. Nevertheless I confess that it was disturbing to hear one of his strongest journalistic supporters declare openly before a large audience that if the country went Fascist Mr. Roosevelt would lead it; that he would land on top! Of course it does not follow that because we are not Fascist we may not go Fascist. Indeed it is my contention that tendencies to Fascism can be seen all around us by any clear eyed observer.

Let us begin by asking what Fascism is. Of course not any and every dictatorship is Fascist. Dictatorship in some form is about as old as human society. It has been revived on a great scale since the "war to end war" and "to make the world safe for democracy." Some of the revivals of dictatorship have been in very crude forms. Some of them have been avowedly temporary, as, for instance, the Russian dictatorship which by its own professions is the dictatorship exercised by a political party in behalf of the workers in order to guide society through its transitional epoch to a new order in which the dictatorship will no longer be necessary. Other dictatorships boast of their permanent necessity. The Fascist dictatorship belongs to this latter category. Fascism in its correct and literal sense is dominant in two great nations—Italy and Germany. There are Fascist parties or groups of more or less importance in most of the countries of Europe, except Russia, and in some of the South American republics. In the United States we have had Fascist organizations which proclaimed that they were solely concerned with giving moral support to their brethren in Italy or Germany. Usually these organizations were composed of Italian or German Americans. We have as yet had no very important group which avowedly was working for Fascism in America. There are some groups—the Khaki Shirts led by the ridiculous and dangerous self-styled General, Art Smith, are a conspicuous example. The Silver Shirts, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan with some mystical religious notions thrown in has strong Fascist teachings and is making headway. Organizations like this are straws which show which way the wind blows. They are probably not forerunners of Mussolini's Black Shirts or Hitler's Brown Shirts. If and when our time comes for real Fascism some sections of the American Legion and organizations like the American Reserve Officers association will be more important material for it than these mushroom growths.

FASCISM in Italy and Germany is marked by four qualities. On the economic side it is a form of state capitalism. Fascism, despite some radical talk, has not abolished or sought to abolish private ownership of productive goods and great natural resources. It has not seriously challenged landlordism, the profit system or the sacred institutions of profit, rent, and interest. It has used the power of the state to stabilize and regulate capitalism—in some cases to do for it what it could not do for itself. It has made some concessions to the workers, more in theory than actually in practice both in Italy and Germany. The workers have lost their right to form their own unions and their own cooperatives. They have lost the right to strike. *And they have also lost, not gained, in employment and in real wages.* The older justification of capitalism was that the individual inspired by a desire for profit started some useful enterprise. He took for himself; he kept for himself, but in the process he set productive forces in action. State capitalism simply protects the claims of owners—vast numbers of them absentee owners—while divesting them of responsibility to do much for themselves. It would not be tolerated if the mass of workers with hand and brain of all races and creeds could get together on a simple economic basis of a just system of production and distribution. But they cannot, or at least they have not done this in Italy or Germany. They have not done it because they have been kept drunk by the heady wine of nationalism. This second characteristic of Fascism is a religion of nationalism, a cult going beyond reason. It is highly emotional. In Germany the nation has been identified with a Teutonic tribalism. Great cruelty has been practiced against those who do not belong to that tribe, notably the Jews. The third feature of Fascism is the doctrine of the totalitarian state; that is to say, that the national state is the *be-all* and *end-all* of life. *For it* individuals exist. *To it* they must dedicate their minds, their consciences and their energies. And the fourth feature of Fascism is the ruthless dictatorship of the party which by propaganda, persuasion and by violence obtains power. Fascism is fundamentally and permanently anti-democratic.

NOW we come back to our question: "Can America Go Fascist?" Well, why not? Are not the elements of Fascism lying all around? Already under the Roosevelt New Deal we have adopted the economics of state capitalism. Fascists both in Italy and Germany have hailed Roosevelt's performance as in line with their own economic ideals. This essential capitalist character of the New Deal cannot be too strongly impressed. Under it the banks were saved by the government only to be restored to the bankers to see if they could ruin them again. Railroads are being restored by a government Coordinator only to see if they can continue to pay profits a while longer to absentee stockholders. Mr. George Peek, the Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act has openly proclaimed that one purpose of the act was to keep the farmers "conservative." Some concessions have been made to the workers, but just as in Italy and Germany, they work better on paper than in practice. Chiseling under the codes has come close to destroying their earlier usefulness. I need not remind readers of THE CRISIS that N.R.A. has been said to stand for "Negro Removal Act." It has not brought about that increase in purchasing power which has been hoped and it has not given us an adequate plan for managing our modern society and distributing it fairly. Of course it was an advance over the complete do-nothing policy of the Hoover administration. We cannot go back to the older type of capitalism which practically committed suicide. The question is how we shall go, forward to emancipation with Socialism or to disaster with Fascism.

When the workers begin more and more insistently to ask why this New Deal does not work better; why the power of government should be used to guarantee profits to absentee owners, then will come the temptation to the owning class to evade a question which it cannot answer, by an appeal to passion and prejudice. Plenty of both are lying around. There is no nation in-

stinctively more nationalistic than the United States. There is no nation where there is greater and more violent racial and class prejudice. Hitler has not yet been able to teach the German people to practice toward Jews or any other group such instinctively diabolical, sadistic cruelties as Americans practice in their lynching, particularly when as is usually the case, the victims are Negroes. Our habitual discrimination against Negroes in law and still more in justice, are on the whole greater than those that Hitler would practice in the name of his Teutonic tribal state. We have moreover a love for violence and direct action. Our lynchings, our gangsterism, our third degree eloquently testify to our shame. The depths of genuineness of our love for democracy are open to doubt. Indeed, it is fashionable to indulge in a certain cynicism about democracy, often a very superficial, ill-informed type of cynicism. Out of all these elements a strong, shrewd demagogue could easily build an American Fascist movement. It might call itself by a different name. The predominant party today in Germany does not call itself Fascist, but National Socialist, or *Nazi*. American Fascism will have some peculiarities of its own. It may operate to a limited extent behind the screen of older American catchwords or institutions. All this can be done and still American Fascism can be characterized by the economics of state capitalism and the politics of an emotional tribal religion of a national, "totalitarian" state.

I do not believe that such a system is the first choice of our great business interests. Some of them still want to try the impossible; namely, to go back to the good old days of Calvin Coolidge. Others of them, more farsighted, would like to go with Gerard Swope in building up a system of business Fascism; that is, a system of government *by big business* and *for big business*. Mr. Swope's plan gave less power to the state over business than Fascism in Europe asserts.

But if labor gets restless enough and asks too insistently the question: why should we who produce all be content with so little?, then big business interests, or enough of them to be effective, will get in action behind an American Fascist movement. Already under the New Deal we have had intimations of a possible set-up for labor which is close to Fascism. Thus, General Johnson openly suggested to the A. F. of L. that it renounce the right to strike and accept government representatives to supervise its unions. This is not far removed from the labor set-up in Italy or Germany.

UNDER all these circumstances I think you will agree with me that a more accurate way of wording the title for this article would have been: "Can America Escape Going Fascist?" It is far more likely to go Fascist than to remain in the present unstable stage of equilibrium. It is even more likely to go Fascist; that is, to go toward the totalitarian state, than to go Socialist; that is, toward the cooperative commonwealth. There is no magic in the American blood or in American institutions or professed faith in democracy automatically to save us.

Indeed, there are only three general directions in which we can go. One of them is toward catastrophe, probably catastrophe arising out of new world war. Another is to some form of Fascism, which of itself would be disastrous and would sooner or later intensify catastrophe by adding bitterness to the hate between nations. The third way is to some form of Socialism. I use the word in its broadest sense. It stands for a society in which there is social ownership of the natural resources and the great means of production and distribution, and production according to plan *for use, not profit*. I believe only under such a society can we have abundance by sharing abundance. I believe only under such a society can we plan to use for life and not death the machinery which ought to enable us to conquer poverty but instead has increased unemployment and threatens us with something like wholesale suicide of the human race in the event of new war or a series of new wars. There is enough validity still in our imperfect American democracy to make it wiser to talk of using and improving that democracy than to turn to dictatorship. Communist talk of dictatorship and the inevitability of large scale violence tends to frighten Americans to Fascism,—of which, for some reason, they are less afraid,—but the democracy which may save us will be very different from the hypocritical version of it we have today. It will be a democracy of workers with hand and brain. It will be applied in economic life as well as in political life. *It must cross racial lines.* It must insist that the true basis of liberty and equality is the abolition of the predatory society which divides men into a class of owners and exploiters and a mass of workers. Above all, those of us who still believe in democracy and who know that intelligent democracy needs Socialism, must put power behind our hopes and behind our program by effective organization of consumers, of workers in the economic field, and of citizens in a mighty party which will represent the interest and hopes of workers of every creed and color who in office, mill, farm, factory or profession do the useful work of the world.

Cuba: A Colony In Revolt

By J. B. MATTHEWS

SO soon after the publication of Carleton Beals' magnificent book, "The Crime of Cuba," two considerations only justify further printed discussion of Washington's imperialistic atrocities in Wall Street's principal colony: Beals' volume appeared prior to the overthrow of Machado on August 12th and much of profound political and social significance has transpired in the island since that date; furthermore, a form of discussion aimed to reach a wider American audience than ever attends the word of all but the rarest best-sellers is imperative if rebellious Cuba is to find effective support within the borders of her imperialistic oppressor.

The United States, by act of the Cuban Congress, was formally annexed to Cuba in 1927 and Gerardo Machado assumed the presidency of the entire area, leaving the unprotesting Calvin Coolidge in the subordinate position of mere president of the United States. This link between the two republics, let it be hastily admitted, was a legal fluke to permit Machado to make an important visit to Washington in conformity with Cuban laws. Underneath this piece of legislative chicanery, however, lay the iron chain of economic imperialism with a binding force that is more than a passing artifice. The partial exposé of the Chase National Bank in its financial dealings with Cuban politicians, gratefully interrupted by the Senate's Investigating Committee on banking practices in the ostensible interests of Cuban "peace," points to a state of affairs upon which the fullest light should be turned. With a callousness worthy of the world's best imperialistic traditions, the investors of Wall Street have taken mortgages upon the well-

being of Cuba's four million workers and peasants. If ever *taxation without representation* has been levied with inhuman cruelty upon a population, Cuba is one of history's outstanding victims. It is the 49th State of Wall Street's Union, disinherited *and* disfranchised.

If this language seems extravagant, here are some of the facts: almost 90 per cent of the cultivable lands of Cuba are owned or controlled by leases by Americans; four-fifths of the island's one major industry — sugar — is exploited by these same investors; tobacco, which ranks second though far behind sugar, is almost entirely American owned; the Cuban Electric Company, a $200,000,000 corporation, is an affiliate of the Electric Bond and Share Company; and the banks, railroads, and telephones are in the hands of American capital. A more complete economic domination of an entire country by the financiers of another could hardly be imagined. In this ownership of Cuban resources no less than a billion and a half dollars are invested. The Chase National, the National City, and the House of Morgan are in the controlling position. Imperialism is never partisan; republicans and democrats alike have plied their profit-making at the expense of Cuba's healthful development. Changes of administration at Washington bring only new wording to the imperialistic formula. Men high in the present administration, Woodin, Roper, Norman Davis, and Owen D. Young, are among those who have profited out of Cuban exploitation.

IF the economic crisis has been severe in the United States, words are totally inadequate to tell the story of the collapse of Cuba's plight. More than half the peasants and workers of the island are idle. The remainder exist on the lowest subsistence levels. There is no kind of governmental relief for the unemployed, except the few jobs that are available for the politically faithful. Mendicancy is nowhere so persistent, unless it be in the beggary of American business interests that press their claims for governmental doles. The streets of Havana are filled with men, women and children that are obviously not the familiar professional panhadlers. Children wait outside restaurants to dart in and seize the bread and scrap of meat left by the patrons. On the sugar plantations where an almost complete lockout prevails, peasants are subsisting on a diet of sugar cane.

It is in the effects of the economic crisis upon the entire population that we must find the explanation of recent political upheavals and labor militancy. Political stability, no matter how dictatorial the state, is entirely incompatible with so severe a crisis. While Machado had become intolerable to all but the merest handful of the Cuban people, and while American interests were prepared to withdraw their support from him in favor of some regime with a broader social base, it was the general strike that ended his infamous career on August 12th.

Since the overthrow of Machado, a new labor movement has sprung into existence. There were fake unions in the days of Machado, but their leaders are among the exiled today. A new and revolutionary leadership is organizing the Cuban masses. The fake Machado unions were affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor which is under the control of the American Federation of Labor. The *Confederacion Nacional Obrera de Cuba,* which was driven underground during the Machado terror, but which is now the vital force of the Cuban labor movement, is affiliated with the Latin American Trade Union Federation which is a section of the *Profitern.* The CNOC includes about seventy per cent of the total organized Cuban workers today, or a membership of about 150,000. Reformist leadership has practically disappeared from the trade union movement. Strike activity has been almost universal since the flight of Machado. More than one hundred strikes have occurred.

Among the most interesting of the strikes, though not important in the number of workers involved, is the strike of the Woolworth workers. There are only eight Woolworth stores in the whole island and four of these are in Havana. Only two hundred workers are involved, but the militancy of the ten-cent store girls has been such that the Government declared martial law in the city of Camaguey on December 5th in order to control the local situation. In Havana the Woolworth strike is led by a girl who is popularly known throughout the city as *Seniorita* "Ten Cent." The first demand of the strikers is the *right to marry.* Cuban dock workers have cooperated by refusing to unload Woolworth shipments from New York.

The workers in the telephone company won a three-hour strike on November 30th. On December 4th the workers of the Cuban Electric Company adopted forty-one demands over which negotiations are now being conducted with the threat of a strike. The Government has just decreed a forty per cent reduction in electric light rates bringing them down to a mere ten cents a kilowatt hour! The poor Electric Company is thus sorely harassed! On December 2nd the unions in the tobacco industry held a convention in Havana for the purpose of organizing along industrial instead of craft lines.. In the province of Oriente the sugar workers are among the most aggressive of the island.

The Chadbourne Plan for the restriction of sugar production is responsible for much of the unemployment in Cuba. On the question of *Zafra Libre* (unrestricted harvest) all political elements in Cuba are united. On December 10th a national conference was held to form a *Comite Nacional Pro-Zafra Libre.* The effect of the Chadbourne Plan upon wages in the sugar industry was to reduce them to from three to twenty-five cents a day. This destroyed the basic purchasing power of the island—all in the interests of the absentee sugar barons of the United States.

Cuba has its race question which is a central issue with some of the political groups of the island today. There is a determined drive among various groups to limit the number of non-Cubans who may be employed in any establishment. The Government has decreed fifty per cent as the permissible quota of non-Cubans, though this may be lowered to twenty in the near future. This drive is aimed particularly at the large number of Haitians and Jamaicans in Cuba. A considerable number of Spaniards is also involved, and the merchants of Havana attempted unsuccessfully to foment a general strike against the decree of President Grau San Martin which requires that they employ more Cubans and less Spaniards. The *Confederacion Nacional Obrera de Cuba* naturally refused to join in such a strike movement though it also opposes the fifty per cent decree of the Grau Government.

Within the domain of practical immediate demands, the people of the United States should support the almost universal anti-imperialist sentiment of Cuba by insisting upon the following objectives:

1. The abrogation of the Platt Amendment.
2. The abandonment of the United States marine base at Guantanamo, Cuba.
3. The withdrawal of all United States warships from Cuban waters.
4. A sweeping investigation by the United States Senate into the financial dealings of New York banks with Cuban politicians.
5. The cancellation of all imperialist-imposed financial obligations upon the Cuban people.
6. The abrogation of the Chadbourne Plan.
7. The right of the Cuban people to determine in the fullest way their own future without any sort of intervention or interference by Washington.

AS SEEN IN THE PRESS

The Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, conducts a column of public school news. The Sixth Grade Reporter gives an idea of how the status of the races is taught in the Desert City. Under the caption "Makes Large U. S. Map," the child writes:

"The children of Miss Olive Dalley's social science class made a large map of the United States. They painted it different colors. The plains, mountains, lakes and rivers. Then all the pupils of the fifth grade brought small articles to illustrate what products are found in the different parts of our country. There were logs, trees, oil wells, coal, cattle, dairies, milk bottles, *dolls dressed as Negroes working in the cotton fields* (italics and capital "N", ours), silk and tiny paper fish. The names of different species were written on the fish."

The Trenton Evening Times, December 5, 1933, says in part editorially of the Scottsboro case: "For the third time, Heywood Patterson, Negro, stands in the shadow of death. The gibbet is not one improvised by the eager hands of mobsmen, drunk with passion and liquor, but a judicial tribunal, one which, there is ample reason to believe, was influenced by a rising tide of local opinion, rather than by the weight of evidence."

In other words, the *Evening Times* is apparently suggesting there are more ways to lynch than is commonly supposed.

The Philadelphia Tribune suggesting that it is becoming easy for Governors of our American States to clear their own skirts by denouncing lawlessness in places other than their own bailiwick, says editorially:

"Says the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Governor of California: 'I will put the full force of the law behind any violators of the law of Pennsylvania. This state will never be a party to mob violence.'

"The Governor has a very short memory. Two hundred fifty school children have been kept out of school in Pennsylvania (Berwyn) for almost two years. And he has done nothing about it.

"It is easy to rush into print with 'big talk' about law and order. It requires courage to run contrary to public feeling in any given community."

The Friends of the Soviet Union, 80 E. 11th Street, New York, N. Y., have issued a "Call" signed by many prominent Americans including Roger Baldwin, Floyd Dell, Langston Hughes, Mary Van Kleeck, Scott Nearing and Dr. Harry F. Ward for the first national convention of persons interested in Russia. Negro organizations are especially urged to send delegates "in view of their fight for full social and political equality which has already been attained for peoples of the Soviet Union."

The Cincinnati Chronicle, a Labor journal, is touched by the poverty of some recent American heiresses:

"Much slush has been appearing in the daily newspapers about Miss Doris Duke, called the richest girl in the world. Miss Duke, daughter of the late James B. Duke, tobacco magnate, came into possession of some $30,000,000 on her twenty-first birthday on November 22. She has 'five palatial homes, a corps of servants, and every luxury that wealth can bring' to quote the tabloids.

"How much better it would have been if Miss Duke's father had left her less and during his lifetime given more to his employees and to the farmers who raised the tobacco used in his factories."

The Richmond Planet reviews the Christianity of the Alabama courts:

"Circuit Judge W. W. Callahan, presiding during the third trial of one of the Scottsboro defendants, adjourned court on Thanksgiving Day, before charging the jury, announcing that his action was dictated by a desire 'to give thanks to an all-wise being who has seen us through a troublesome day.'

"What irony! What blatant hypocrisy in view of the judge's conduct of the trials! The judge is evidently a devout Christian, and according to the formula he will one of these days find a seat high up in heaven, in which case it is not so difficult to make heaven after all."

The Oklahoma City Black Dispatch comments on Herbert Hoover's great awakening on finding lynching at his very doorstep:

"The excoriation given to the lynching evil by private citizen Herbert Hoover last week, while extremely heartening, loses much of its force and effect when we recall that during the entire period when Herbert Hoover wore the mantle of authority as does Governor Rolph, he, as president of the United States, was strangely silent upon this highly controversial subject.

"The sins of omission are just as grave as the sins of commission. The strong voice of President Hoover could have caused the calloused hand of the lyncher to tremble as it fumbled with the hemp rope and the faggot. A virulent, forthright message to Congress demanding federal legislation as a deterrent would have struck the fear of God into the spineless grissel of thousands of bloodthirsty murderers, but President Hoover as the chief executive of this nation, commander of the army and navy, stood idly by while Rome burned. Apparently his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth.

"It makes quite a difference when a man has power, as contrasted to a day when he does not have it. Ask yourself this question: What was the meaning of Herbert Hoover's silence regarding the bloody orgy of lynching during his administration? Was he neutral, did he condone, or did he in his heart condemn?"

THE NEW SLAVERY—LONG SENTENCES FOR PETTY CRIMES
A Photographic Study by Doris Ulmann in Roll Jordan Roll

African Secret Societies

By COMNA ASAPANSA-JOHNSON

EUROPEAN travelers with no real knowledge of African psychology and philosophy (and not being too eager to gain that knowledge), judging the African from their own standards of right and wrong and their own standard of cultural living have branded the African secret societies with the label of superstition and ignorance. The opinion that everything African is bad and anything that cannot be explained in the light of European civilization is unwholesome generally prevails. However, in modern days with the advancement of learning and the study of races, men's ideas are being broadened and they are becoming willing gradually to grant to each race, however primitive, some high ideals created by themselves. Every African nation and tribe has its own native society and entrance to such institutions has been strictly on the basis of nationality. The term "Secret Society" when applied to these native societies is not quite accurate; for no one born in the nation is barred from membership in such a society. On the contrary, it is compulsory upon all at a certain age to enter such a society before being entitled to take place in the family, tribe, or nation. Every African boy or girl is compelled to enter at an early age the first of these societies to receive that training which alone can fit him or her for the struggles of life. In different parts of the continent the societies go by different names according to the language of its people, but the object in all is the same, *education for life*.

In Nigeria, between the ages of ten and twenty, the boys and girls are expected to become members of this compulsory institution called *Egbe*. The boys here receive instruction from different teachers under the leadership of a man who directs their course of study. He is called the *Baba Egbe*. The girls are under the leadership of a woman called the *Iya Egbe*. The boys are taught the duties of citizenship and the folk lore of their ancestors, "the Politics of the Age by Means of the Customary Philosophy and Parables." They are taught also the elementary principles in the art of war. The girls are taught all that appertains to the duties of the home. They are especially trained to be useful partners. The care of children—what we would call today, child welfare,—home economics and other specifically female duties are duly emphasized. In other parts of Africa this same system is followed under different names.

In Sierra Leone and French Guinea there are two such societies, the *Porro* and *Bondo*. In the *Porro* society the boys enter at about the age of fifteen and remain until they are between nineteen and twenty-one; the girls enter the *Bondo* society at about fourteen or fifteen and remain until they are about eighteen or nineteen. Just as in Nigeria and other parts of Africa the youth of Sierra Leone and French Guinea are trained in those duties that as men and women they will be called to face. The boys are not only taught the laws and customs of their country and the art of war but they are taught some useful trade on which to earn their livelihood.

Vocational training plays a great part in their education. They receive also a course in medicine to enable them to attend their families in case of minor ailments. In this school the art of many useful things are taught which cannot be imparted outside of its precincts. The rite of circumcision is then and only then administered. After five or six years in this institution—which to the uninitiated is one vast forest, for no one can say where exactly it is located except the initiated—the young man once again returns to his home and family. He now undertakes the full duties of citizenship by putting on the *Toga virilis* and, takes his place in the community, ranking as a junior member in the Assembly of the Elders. He may enter the *Porro* society at a later age, if by reason of illness or absence from the tribe his initiation was impossible at the prescribed period. At some time he *must* be initiated because it is that process, and only that process, which can give and confer the inalienable right of citizenship.

THE girls, likewise undergo very strict discipline during their three or four years of training. Every girl is expected to be a *virgo* in the truest meaning of the term on entering and if on examination such is not the case, terrible punishments await not only her but her family and the man concerned; by this means the chastity of African womanhood is preserved during the years of youthful indiscretion. The girl who approaches the nuptial bed a *virgo non intacta* brings on herself the displeasure of both husband and family. Almost every girl before entering this institution is engaged to be married and on leaving within a few months, or at the most a year, becomes the bride of some man. No African girl trained in the *Bondo* school is ignorant of the duties of motherhood. She is taught the use of herbs and can give first aid to husband and child in an emergency; all such knowledge is acquired in the *Bondo* society.

There is no doubt that there are some crudities connected with these societies but their object is certainly ideal. The European world is still divided as to the teaching of sex in school and for many long years will be divided. Africa more than a thousand years ago has solved that problem. The African boy and girl who still adheres to the custom of his ancestors in these societies or institutions become acquainted with those duties which nature has decreed must be assumed at some time. Other societies there are which men enter at different periods of their life but these are not compulsory; among these are included the good and the bad and the indifferent. Some are uplifting, others are distinctly inhuman and degrading. The *Ogboni*, the *Egungun*, the *Mafima* or "Leopard society," the *Cogfon*, the *Gbat*, and the *Maneke*, and others; each has its own significance and even amongst the degrading ones there is something of intended good. As with many societies the *Ogboni* exists for the defense of the weak and the preservation of the leaders of the people.

As touching the marriage systems of Africa it is first necessary to know the African's conception of womanhood, for on that is based his marriage system. The African's conception is not the general idea given in European text books that woman is regarded as a slave, a chattel and intrinsically the inferior of man. Even if this were so he would not be ashamed to say it, for even in Europe and America woman has not yet come to her full and natural rights. It is a fact that Christianity in European countries has raised the status of womanhood above the level which it stood in ancient times, and that women in these countries are more advanced than their sisters in non-Christian countries. Our contention therefore, is not a comparison between the European woman of modern times and the African woman but between the African conception of womanhood and that held by other races at a similar period in history. A comparison made with the status of woman in the Middle Ages would be better. The African woman has always been carefully educated and the advice of aged matrons has always been sought on national questions. In early years the girl belongs to her parents; at marriage she belongs to her

husband; her life is linked with his. At her husband's death she either goes back to her parents or is taken care of by eldest child. The African looks on the womenfolks as the gentler sex, the keeper of the home, the mother of his children.

It has been widely circulated that in Africa the men do no work and allow their women folk to do all the toiling such as farming and trading. Such statements are so untrue that we mention them only to treat them with the silence and contumely they deserve. In some parts of Africa as in Oriental countries a girl can be betrothed in childhood; that is the custom in some places. This, however, is not universal. The parents have a powerful say in the matter of marriages. To a girl who is betrothed in childhood, if at the time of maturity she dislikes the choice of her parents, she is free to decline his proffered love, but if her parents had received some presents from the gentleman they are compelled to return everything previously given them as presents. Parents have very great influence over their children in the marriage system of Africa, but nevertheless, where the girl is determined she cannot be compelled to marry an unsuitable spouse. The question of buying and selling of wives is as false as it is wicked. Here again is a lack of understanding of the psychology of the African. All such stories are simply not true. These presents are not a payment for the girl; there is no law compelling any young man to do this, it is the ordinary custom of the nation. A man gives according to his station and there is no fixed amount; there is no selling; there is no buying; it is a love token. Any other interpretation of the pre-nuptial gift is a libel on the African nation.

As in Europe and America, women are not admitted to those great and honorable secret societies in Africa. They have their own and are not allowed to mix with their men-folk. In the *Bondo* they are taught to give deference to their husband and to "obey." The influence of Christianity will certainly have its effects on the relationship of the men and women as regards their status. Woman, as in other countries, will be raised to an equitable position. Greater political freedom will be hers. The lordship of the *Pater familias* may be less, but we doubt whether African psychology will be content to give to woman merely the position she assumes today in Europe and America.

George Crawford—Symbol

By WALTER WHITE

LATE in the afternoon of December 16th a courtroom crowded to its utmost capacity at Leesburg, Virginia, heard the ominous knock on the door of the jury room announcing that the jury had agreed on a verdict. Into the courtroom filed twelve grim-faced men. On either side of the Judge, Virginia state troopers armed with submachine guns, pistols, tear-gas and vomit-gas bombs took their places. The clerk of the Court, E. O. Russell, read the verdict—guilty as charged in the indictment, but punishment of life imprisonment instead of the death chair.

Thus probably ended one of the most famous cases in American jurisprudence. Detailed accounts of the trial will appear in the February issue of THE CRISIS as space is available here only to give the bare facts.

Crawford, a penniless, poorly educated ex-convict, guilty under the law and by his own confession of going with one Charlie Johnson to rob the home of a wealthy white woman in Loudoun County, Virginia, in the course of which robbery Mrs. Agnes Boeing Ilsley and her elderly white maid were killed by Johnson, so Crawford alleges in his confession, stands as an extraordinary symbol. To Governor John Garland Pollard and other officials of Virginia, to the press, both white and colored with one or two minor exceptions, and especially to the counsel who defended Crawford unstinted credit is due. The fate of the defendant was far transcended by the issues of far-reaching importance involved in the case which may briefly be summarized as follows:

The issues raised in the extradition proceedings, on which the late Judge James A. Lowell's decision granted a writ of habeas corpus, have profoundly affected the whole question of Negroes serving on juries in southern states. Crawford's counsel contended that a state which violated one part of the Federal Constitution by illegally barring Negroes from grand and petit juries should not be permitted to appeal through another part of the same Constitution for the return of a Negro charged with crime who had fled to another state. Though subsequently reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Lowell focused national attention upon the exclusion of Negroes in a way which had never before been achieved. Since Judge Lowell's decision was rendered five southern states have placed Negroes upon grand and petit juries for the first time and the consensus of opinion among enlightened southerners is that every state which now bars Negroes, in violation of the Constitution, must speedily reform its practice. This will have a most far-reaching effect upon the administration of justice so far as Negroes are concerned.

A second and equally significant development of the Crawford case is the fact that here was a Negro, guilty of a horrible double murder (the law clearly classifies as guilty one who participates in a robbery in the course of which murder occurs even though he himself did not actually commit the murder), tried in a southern state, defended by Negro counsel and saved from the electric chair. Every person in the courtroom left it with profound respect for the ability of defense counsel headed by Charles H. Houston, Dean of the Howard University Law School, Leon A. Ransom, Edward P. Lovett and James G. Tyson, all of Washington. The brilliance, militancy, fairness and dignity with which the case was handled by both the prosecution and the defense create a new high-water mark for the handling of a criminal case charged, as was this one, with all of the explosives which in the past have led to unjust conviction or lynching.

Finally, credit should be given for the excellent work in the rendition proceedings by J. Weston Allen, former Attorney-General of Massachusetts, and Butler R. Wilson, veteran Negro attorney of Boston.

Defense counsel in the course of the motion to quash the grand jury indictment and in the motion to dismiss the petit jury panel clearly established that there are Negroes meeting all the statutory requirements for jury service in Loudoun County and that they had been illegally excluded. Both Judge McLemore and State Senator Cecil Connor of the prosecution unmistakably indicated that one of the results of the trial would be an ending of this practice.

The conclusion of the Crawford case in this fashion marks one of the most distinguished victories for justice to the Negro yet won. The repercussions of the case, especially in the manner in which it was handled by defense counsel who fought tenaciously and militantly even though it was discovered on the eve of the trial that the defendant had not given his counsel all the facts, will greatly affect administration of justice to Negroes not only in Virginia but throughout the south.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

AMERICA

Negro Legislators

For the third time, Dr. Frank S. Hargrave has been elected a member of the New Jersey legislature. Dr. Hargrave introduced the bill that resulted in the organization of a Negro battalion and gave Negroes opportunity to receive permanent military training. Two uniformed companies, with their own armories, one located in Newark and the other in Atlantic City, are now a part of the New Jersey state militia.

In Ohio four Negroes were successful in the recent elections held in Campbell. Nathaniel Patton was elected councilman-at-large. H. L. Parish was re-elected a member of the city council for the Fifth Ward. Dr. E. P. Young, several months ago appointed as city doctor, was elected a member of the Campbell board of education. Eugene T. Rollins was elected to the office of township trustee of Coitsville township.

In Cleveland, Ohio, Councilmen Bundy and Payne were re-elected. Mr. James E. Hubbard was elected councilman to succeed Claiborne George, who made an unsuccessful race for a municipal judgeship. Mrs. Mary B. Martin was re-elected to the Board of Education. The new mayor, elected by the Negro vote, has to date made one appointment of note. Attorney Charles White, a graduate of Fisk and Harvard, was appointed Assistant Law Director.

Mr. Henry J. Richardson, Jr., has been recently elected to the Indiana State Legislature on the Democratic ticket. Mr. Richardson introduced and secured the passage for the N.A.A.C.P. of the first bill prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color on state-financed projects. This bill was signed by Gov. Paul V. Mc Nutt and is now law. Mr. Richardson also is the donor of the Henry J. Richardson medal for the winner of the annual oratorical contests the first of which was held this year by the Indiana State Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. Branches.

Jury Foreman

Eleven white jurymen elected a Negro, W. T. Mason, of Norfolk, Virginia, as foreman. Mr. Mason is manager of an insurance agency in Norfolk. The first case to concern the jury was that of James Shields, a Negro charged with using the mails to defraud. The case was tried in the federal district court and Shields was acquitted.

SCHOOLS

Shaw University

Members of the staff of Shaw University opened the University's annual campaign for funds by a donation of $4,000. Members of the University staff also contributed to the donations.

Keeping The Crisis *Alive*
Charles and David Phillips of Springfield, Ill.

Strike

The students of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, have gone on strike following the suspension of three students by President Charles W. Florence.

Resigned

Dr. Vernon S. Johns, president of Virginia Seminary, at Lynchburg, Va., resigned after a stormy week during which the Seminary students staged a strike against Dr. Johns' regime.

WORK, WASTE, AND WEALTH

Candy Making

In Harlem there has opened a candy shop under the management of Mrs. Myrtle Saunders. Mrs. Saunders who worked for twelve years in the Martha Washington Candy Company and for three years with the Liberty Candy Company in Los Angeles, makes, wraps and distributes her candies. The Kandy Kettle has modern equipment and the entire shop is open for the inspection of visitors. Demonstrations of candy making are held weekly.

Homes of Negroes

The Census Bureau reports that the number of owner non-farm homes occupied by Negroes in 15 cities having a Negro population of 50,000 or more is 67,179. Of these homes, 13,904 or 20.7 per cent were valued under $2,000. 26,650 or 39.7 per cent were valued between $200 and $4,999. In New York City was found the highest median value of homes, that being $8,519. Negroes own 4,563 homes there. Chicago led the 15 cities in the number of homes valued at $20,000 and over with 269 from a total of 733.

Negro Hotel Employers

St. Louis hotel employees have organized an independent union under the NRA. The union is sponsored by the Urban League and is to be known as the Negro Hotel Employers Association. Mr. P. C. Payne was elected president. The program of the union includes hiring of all employers through the organization; submission of all disputes to a board composed of one employer, one employee and one impartial member and provision that all hotels provide better eating places for their employees. The association has been recognized by the St. Louis Hotel Men's Association. The membership of the union is composed of all hotel employees, maids, waiters, waitresses, housemen, bellboys, laundresses, chefs, janitors, and maintenance men.

Prince Makonen of Abyssinia, Accompanied by Egyptian Dignitaries
Leaving the Patriarchal Church in Cairo, Egypt

AWARDS

In the annual award of History prizes made by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the following awards:

To Faith Vibert of London, England, for her treatment of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Its Work for the Negroes in North America before 1783," first prize of $100.

To Fernand Mases, investigator of the Bibliotheque Nationale, for his treatment of "The Negro Race in French Literature," second prize of $50.

First prize of $50 for the best book review to Ben N. Azikiwe, a native African, for his review of *Georgia Nigger* by John L. Spivak.

Second prize of $25 to Victor R. Daly of Washington, D. C., for his review of Lloyd Lewis' *Sherman: Fighting Prophet.*

Appointment as special passenger representative for the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad to Claude Rice of Dallas, Texas. Mr. Rice will see to the welfare and comfort of colored passengers and travelers over the M. K. and T. Railroad routes.

ART

West African Art

The Smithsonian Institute has received from interior Nigeria a large collection of art objects illustrating the highest stage of primitive West African culture. Many of the objects illustrate the highly developed metal craft of these people who were skilled in the use of iron and bronze.

Rose McClendon

At the Theatre Ball recently held to celebrate the opening of the Theatre Union's first season this month, Broadway's most talented actresses gathered in costume. Rose McClendon wore a grass skirt and portrayed a hula girl.

SPORTS

Morgan College of Baltimore, Md., won the football championship of the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association. Morgan has been tied once in two years, but has not been defeated. This year she was scored on only once, by Hampton Institute. For this season, Morgan scored 319 points to her opponents' 6.

S. I. C.

Tuskegee Institute won the championship of the Southern Intercollegiate Association, defeating all the rivals except Morris Brown, who played her to a scoreless tie.

Mid-Western

The Mid-western Intercollegiate Athletic Association will henceforth include Tennessee State College among its members. This school was at one time affiliated with the Southern Conference.

An English Professional

George Headley, a colored West Indian, has been engaged by the Lancashire Club for two years at a salary of 1000 pounds (about $5,000) a year. Headley described as "the world's best batsman" was an outstanding performer during the 1933 season on the West Indian cricket team which toured England. *American Professional Baseball Magnates, please copy.*

Standards, Again

The C. I. A. A. met in Lawrenceville, Va., this year, and as usual, was the scene of the annual battle between those who want standards and those who do not. The latter won again, putting it in the books that in the future students who play against colleges during their high school career will not be considered as having played against colleges. This situation has been a source of great embarrassment to the Rules Committee for many years.

DIED

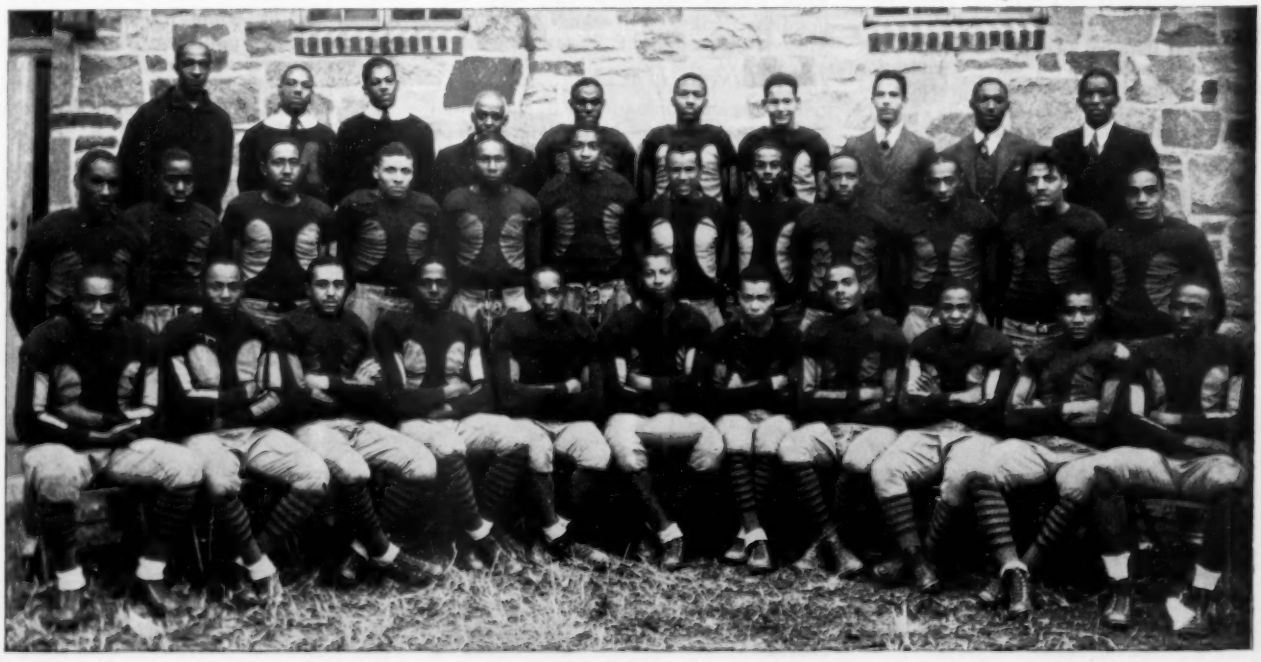
Mrs. Armintie Young, mother of the late Col. Charles Young, highest ranking Negro officer in the United States army at the time of his death.

Dr. E. E. Smith, for fifty years president of the State Normal at Fayetteville, N. C., at his campus residence after a long illness. Dr. Smith was born in Duplin County, N. C., in 1852. As a young man he was active in the politics of North Carolina during the Reconstruction. He served under President Grover Cleveland as the American minister to Liberia. He was one of the early graduates of Shaw University.

MR. JAMES CROW

The Negro and the Courts

The Commissions on Inter-racial Cooperation in North Carolina and Virginia were scheduled to meet December 11, 1933, in South Hill, Virginia. The news release stated: "The Commission has never resorted to militant methods; its appeal has been to the white man's sense of fairness; it has relied on the methods of the 'educator' and not those of the 'reformer.' Instead of invoking the strong arm of the law, it has brought the influence of distinguished personalities to bear upon problems which the law has sometimes been unavailing in dealing with because of public opinion."



Morgan College Football Squad, Champions of the C. I. A. A.

Jim Crow City Hospital

As a result of a citizens meeting called to discuss problems confronting colored nurses and employees of the Los Angeles County General Hospital, the executive superintendent of the hospital was ordered to discontinue segregation of colored employees in the dining rooms. Negro nurses are discriminated against in the dormitories and dining rooms and in the ward work. Only one Negro interne has been admitted to the Hospital.

Police Raid

Raiding a new cabaret in Columbus, Ohio, the chief of police is quoted as having said: "God didn't intend the races to mix and as long as I am head of the police department white and colored will be separated." White and colored patrons had attended the cabaret together.

Property Ownership

White property owners presented a petition to the City Council of Springfield, Massachusetts, which stated their objections to the ownership of property on Montrose Street by Negroes. In part they stated:

"Our objections are based on the lowering of property values and the loss that will ensue, together with other very obvious reasons. We, as taxpayers and voters, respectfully request the board of aldermen for the elimination of our grievances." Mr. Gordon of the City Hall stated: "It is extremely unfortunate that the signers of this petition were ignorant of the fact that there is a civil rights law in Massachusetts, which prohibits attempts at residential segregation, or any other form of segregation in public places, and that the U. S. Supreme Court has already ruled on the legality of the issue."

Anti-Lynching Bill

Several national organizations have put an "anti-lynch" bill in their agenda for the lobbying at the coming session of Congress. The fight originally undertaken by the N.A.A.C.P. resulted in the Dyer Bill several years ago. This bill passed the House, but was killed in the Senate by a filibuster which the Republican Senate did not see fit to break. To date, the Socialist Party, the Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers, the League of Southern Women Against Lynching, in addition to the N.A.A.C.P., favor legislation against lynching.

Negro Clerks

The City Council of Houston, Texas, voted to prohibit the working of Negro clerks in the city fish markets at city hall. A delegation of five fish market operators in the city market complained to the mayor and council that certain stalls only employed Negroes and raised the question of the council's right to "discriminate" in such matters.

Negro Guests and the White House

When Mrs. Ellen Woodward of Mississippi, director of the women's division of the federal emergency relief, called a conference of prominent women at the White House she refused to invite a representative Negro woman. Mrs. Woodward's meeting concerned itself with the program for the relief of unemployed women.

Intimidation of Workers

By the decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court twenty-one union laborers, colored and white, will receive a total of $2,800 wages which the C. and W. Construction Company compelled them to turn back to the company's funds. The laborers, bricklayers and helpers contended that under threat of dismissal, from their union wages of $9.90 for an eight hour day, they were required to pay back to the company $2.90.

Ku Klux in Havana

The organization of a Ku Klux Klan society in Cuba has been reported. The society states that "several white women have been insulted." This traditional reason probably has much less to substantiate the Ku Klux than the hatred of black Cubans and fear lest they participate too intimately in the island's government affairs.

N.A.A.C.P.

The Richmond Branch Membership Campaign under the direction of Daisy E. Lampkin, surpassed its goal of $1,000 in memberships, closing its campaign with a total of $1,032.83. Twenty teams were active in the campaign, eleven in the women's division under the leadership of Mrs. W. T. Johnson and eleven in the men's division headed by J. E. Harris.

The captains of the four leading teams were Mrs. Erma Harris, Roscoe C. Jackson, Lee Jackson and J. S. Collins. 891 memberships were secured: 4, $10-memberships; 10, $5-memberships; 55, $2.50-memberships; 751, $1-memberships; and $8.29 in contributions. 71 memberships compose a college chapter at Virginia Union University.

This campaign had the cooperation of churches, civic and fraternal organizations and insurance companies. The entire executive and clerical staff of the I. O. St. Luke, Southern Aid Society, Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company and North Carolina Mutual joined the N.A.A.C.P.

Cooperating with Dr. J. M. Tinsley, President of the Richmond Branch, were the leading citizens of Richmond. During this year the branch has been successful in securing the appointment of colored principals in five of the schools, with the promise that there shall be appointed Negro principals in all colored schools as rapidly as the white principals can be placed in other positions. The program for the coming year is to include the effort to secure equalization of salaries for colored teachers and employment of Negroes by the city.

R. J. Simmons
President
Duluth, Minn.

Mrs. W. J. Johnson
Director, Women's Division
Richmond

John S. Collins
Captain
Richmond

Dr. J. M. Tinsley
President
Richmond

BRANCH OFFICERS, N. A. A. C. P.

AFRICA

Affairs in Nigeria

In Lagos, native affairs have been amicably settled with the recognition of Falolu as Head of the House of Docemo or Ado. The appointment of Falolu has been accepted by the minority group which has paid respects at the Iga and closed breaches with fellow-citizens that have extended in some cases over more than twenty years.

The exclusion of E. S. Ajayi of Lagos from the United States and from England because of passport irregularities has been settled and upon examination at Lagos he has been allowed to land in the United Kingdom. The red tape, however, that surrounds passport regulations needs still to be untangled. Although citizens of the colonies have the full rights of subjects, "Protectorate-born" Africans are not recognized as such, and the right to passports as British subjects has been denied them.

There is returning to Nigeria a prominent young lawyer, O. A. Alakija from England where he has spent ten years in study. He attended Seaford College, was graduated with the degrees of A.B. and B.C.L. from Jesus College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar at Middle Temple last June. Mr. Alakija is a musician and composer of accomplishment, has written articles for *West Africa*, and is the president of the West African Student's Union.

A Book on Angola

"Angola: The Land of the Blacksmith Prince," is a new book recently published on that extremely interesting country. Angola was one of the earliest parts of West Africa to come into regular contact with Europeans, and the Prince of the title was a sixteenth century Chief whose hoes, axes and spears were much sought for beyond the limits of his country. The book, though concerned mainly with missionary efforts, gives much information about the country.

The Language of the Tiv

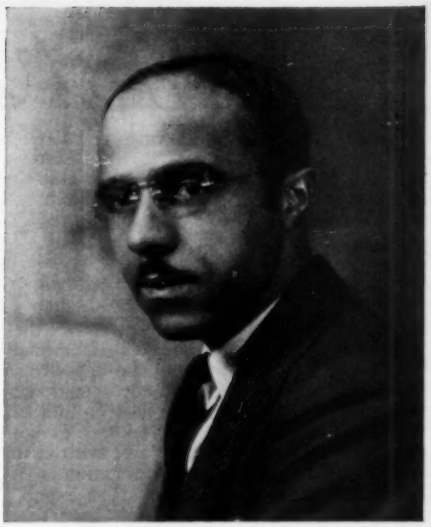
Study of native languages is forming a good part of African and British scholarship on Africa. *The Grammar of Tiv* by Captain R. C. Abraham of the Nigerian Political Service is the most recent contribution on the language of the Tiv people. The classification of the Tiv tongue as Bantu is not supported by Captain Abraham's findings both in structure and vocabulary. The final conjecture supposes that the Tiv are an originally Bantu-speaking tribe, who penetrated so far to the West as to become cut off from the main body and isolated among the Sudanic-speaking tribes.

Death of Alli Balogun

Alli Balogun, famous for his business interests and his descent from a family of slave dealers, has died at the age of 103. He was the seventh son of Majubla, a dealer in slaves who was himself a slave of Eshilokun, one of the earlier kings of Lagos under whose protection he had placed himself. In youth, Alli assisted his father in the Lagos-Ejirin trade. When it drew to an end he entered into the live-stock business, and finally operated as a middleman for firms in the palm produce trade. His prominent business affiliations made him a powerful force in the affairs of the Lagos government and for a long time his policies brought him into disfavour with the people. Whatever conscience Alli Balogun neglected in his trade of human slaves, he faithfully contributed to the building of mosques.

Liberian Consul

Walter F. Walker, Columbus, Ohio, is the new Liberian consul in New York. Mr. Walker succeeds Edward G. Merrill, white, who held that position twenty-seven years. In 1912 Mr. Walker was secretary to the President of Liberia, Mr. Howard. He also served as Secretary of Public Instruction in Liberia in 1916–1917, 1920–1922.



Henry J. Richardson, Jr.
Member of Indiana State Legislature
(*See page* 16)

CRIME

Negro Jailer

Benjamin J. Davidson, 53, Negro jailer of Shawnee County, Oklahoma, was fatally wounded while preventing the escape of a white convict, Cecil Thornbrough, convicted of a postoffice robbery.

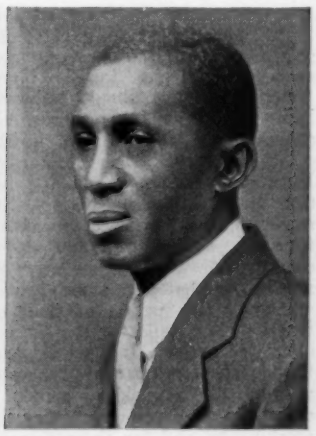
$1,000 Reward

Governor Hill McAllister of Tennessee has offered a reward of $1,000 for the apprehension of the lynchers of Cord Cheek, 19 year-old Negro youth who was kidnapped from the home of relatives in Nashville. Cheek had just been *acquitted by the Grand Jury* which heard him charged with attempted assault on a young white girl.

Lee Jackson
Captain

J. E. Harris
Director, Men's Division

Mrs. Erma A. Harris
Captain



Roscoe C. Jackson
Captain

RICHMOND BRANCH, N. A. A. C. P.

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

SEGREGATION

The thinking colored people of the United States must stop being stampeded by the word segregation. The opposition to racial segregation is not or should not be any distaste or unwillingness of colored people to work with each other, to cooperate with each other, to live with each other. The opposition to segregation is an opposition to discrimination. The experience in the United States has been that usually when there is racial segregation, there is also racial discrimination.

But the two things do not necessarily go together, and there should never be an opposition to segregation pure and simple unless that segregation does involve discrimination. Not only is there no objection to colored people living beside colored people if the surroundings and treatment involve no discrimination, if streets are well lighted, if there is water, sewerage and police protection, and if anybody of any color who wishes, can live in that neighborhood. The same way in schools, there is no objection to schools attended by colored pupils and taught by colored teachers. On the contrary, colored pupils can by our own contention be as fine human beings as any other sort of children, and we certainly know that there are no teachers better than trained colored teachers. But if the existence of such a school is made reason and cause for giving it worse housing, poorer facilities, poorer equipment and poorer teachers, then we do object, and the objection is not against the color of the pupils' or teachers' skins, but against the discrimination.

In the recent endeavor of the United States government to redistribute capital so that some of the disadvantaged groups may get a chance for development, the American Negro should voluntarily and insistently demand his share. Groups of communities and farms inhabited by colored folk should be voluntarily formed. In no case should there be any discrimination against white and blacks. But, at the same time, colored people should come forward, should organize and conduct enterprises, and their only insistence should be that the same provisions be made for the success of their enterprise that is being made for the success of any other enterprise. It must be remembered that in the last quarter of a century, the advance of the colored people has been mainly in the lines where they themselves working by and for themselves, have accomplished the greatest advance.

There is no doubt that numbers of white people, perhaps the majority of Americans, stand ready to take the most distinct advantage of voluntary segregation and cooperation among colored people. Just as soon as they get a group of black folk segregated, they use it as a point of attack and discrimination. Our counter attack should be, therefore, against this discrimination; against the refusal of the South to spend the same amount of money on the black child as on the white child for its education; against the inability of black groups to use public capital; against the monopoly of credit by white groups. But never in the world should our fight be against association with ourselves because by that very token we give up the whole argument that we are worth associating with.

Doubtless, and in the long run, the greatest human development is going to take place under experiences of widest individual contact. Nevertheless, today such individual contact is made difficult and almost impossible by petty prejudice, deliberate and almost criminal propaganda and various survivals from prehistoric heathenism. It is impossible, therefore, to wait for the millennium of free and normal intercourse before we unite, to cooperate among themselves in groups of like-minded people and in groups of people suffering from the same disadvantages and the same hatreds.

It is the class-conscious working man uniting together who will eventually emancipate labor throughout the world. It is the race-conscious black man cooperating together in his own institutions and movements who will eventually emancipate the colored race, and the great step ahead today is for the American Negro to accomplish his economic emancipation through voluntary determined cooperative effort.

ROOSEVELT

Two or three steps by Franklin Roosevelt encourage the American Negro to hope that despite his dependence upon the bourbon and reactionary South for his political salvation, he is not going to submit altogether to the trammels of race prejudice.

First, in his treatment of Haiti, he is at least willing to talk to Haitians as men. His policy is still to make the United States government the petty agent for the collection of an unjust debt saddled on Haiti by the National City Bank. But even in this he is willing to talk the matter over and in the conversation that took place on the way to Montevideo, there seems to have been laid the basis of understanding between the two oldest republics in the new world.

Other presidents have talked about lynching, but they did it as a last resort and under tremendous outside pressure. It took war, riot and upheaval to make Wilson say one small word. Nothing ever induced Herbert Hoover to say anything on the subject worth the saying. Even Harding was virtually dumb. Roosevelt, with his great radio audience, has declared frankly that lynching is murder. We all knew it, but it is unusual to have a President of the United States admit it. These things give us hope.

ROLPH AND HITLER

The continuing problem of democracy is the choice of those persons who are to conduct the state. Into their hands great power is and must be entrusted. They are for the time being, curbed only by an undetermined and uncertain public opinion, monarchs in every sense of the word. Their rule is no different from the rule of a Caesar or a Napoleon, except that under modern democratic conditions, it is limited usually in time, somewhat by reaction of public thought. Nevertheless most of our effort has been given to methods of getting these people in office and very little has been devoted to a careful knowledge and exploration of their thoughts and character. It is commonplace for the average voter to cast his ballot for a man whose name he has never seen before, and all too often for a person concerning whose opinions he has but the slightest knowledge.

Who knew or knows Adolph Hitler? A year ago he was almost a joke; then a vague agitator; and even today it is by no means certain as to whether he is a great mind or a great advertiser. Certainly the people of California when they elected Rolph governor, could have known comparatively little about him; and yet into the hands of Rolph and Hitler is put this tremendous power: power to persecute, to threaten civilization, to upturn the public order and to do this by legal and regular methods.

All this does not discount or contradict the theory of democratic government. It simply tells us that after or even before our industry is readjusted to the normal wants of men, we have got to give attention not simply to elections, but to the character of the men who are running for office, and that we must insist upon the right to know not only from their words, but from their thoughts and deeds, just what human life and human government mean to them.

FRANCE

There are certain characteristics of the French people concerning which the public knows little and yet all the world feels the results. To those who know, there can be little doubt but that the French are the most civilized people of the Western world, and one thing among many others attests this fact: 50,000 have fled from Germany under the Nazi regime. Of these, 25,000 have taken refuge in France and have been welcomed by that marvelous French hospitality. Probably the majority of the white Russians representing the former rank and wealth of Russia, have taken refuge in France and have been welcomed. In other words, the French people have always been not only hospitable to strangers, but hospitable to ideas, and for that reason they have reached a state of cultivation which continually, despite anything that they do or wish or that the world wants, has placed them at the head of modern culture. A nation which at one breath can welcome the German Jew and the Russian aristocrat; that in the face of American money and prejudice, can hold the balance even between colored people and white, deserves much in this narrow and wrong-headed world.

SCOTTSBORO

Some one sat in our office the other day and said "why doesn't THE CRISIS say more about Scottsboro?" and I answered, "Why indeed!" There are some things so painfully obvious, that it seems almost futile to write words about them. Lynching is an unspeakable blot upon America. We are the only nation in the civilized world that burns human beings alive as a public spectacle. And yet beyond this is a national habit and custom which is far worse, and that is the using of the legal processes of law for profit and prejudice and revenge. It is doubtful if a single person in the United States including the judge and jury in Alabama, has any thought that the black victims who are being tried at Scottsboro, have committed any crime that deserves punishment. Nevertheless, they have already been terribly punished and they are going to be further punished. They are going to be punished because an uncivilized community and a brutal judicial system cannot do anything else and be true to its past history and its present constitution. The State of Alabama, together with most of the states of the Southern South, for fifty years has invested in crime. They have used crime for private profit. They have bought and sold criminals. They have built their prosperity and private fortunes upon a treatment of the unfortunate which is contemptible, and in addition to this they have tried through their treatment of Negroes, to satisfy the blood lust of a sadistic people. They are going to continue this. They are going to continue it until the South becomes civilized, and no one living is going to see that day.

THE OUTER POCKET

THE CRISIS for November, 1933, on page 258 stated under the caption "N. R. A.": "The Home Owners Loan Corporation in Memphis, Tennessee, is openly refusing to loan money on Negro property."

Mr. Dewitt T. Alcorn, Chairman of the Negro Advisory Committee of Home Owners Loan Corporation of West Tennessee, writes in to correct this statement. He cited a radio address of recent date to the effect that "Of about $125,000 that have been expended by the local office, $35,000 have gone to colored home owners." Mr. Alcorn asserts his belief that the Negro Advisory Committee was advised and set up by the local Home Owners Corporation and to his knowledge "is the only such committee in the entire country"; again, "there positively has not been any discrimination, and I am advised to say to you that the files of this office are at your disposal."

THE CRISIS invites further information on this timely topic from its West Tennessee readers.

Editor of THE CRISIS:

Please discontinue sending me "THE CRISIS." I hereby donate my subscription, which was paid for two years and which I think is about a year in advance, to anyone whom you may choose.

My action in this particular is based upon my reaction to the Schuyler publication and exhibit in the last issue of "THE CRISIS." I see no reason why the valuable space of your publication, which has in the main sought to give expression to ideals and principles, should be given to the parading of what seems to be non-consequential individualism and vanity.

I have the highest regard for your militant, strong leadership in the field of independent thought and expression. There is much about you as an outstanding advocate of human rights which must be admired by sane and fair-minded people, but when THE CRISIS is given over to such peculiar and funny dissertations, I am not further interested.

With no desire whatever to controvert touching this matter, I insist that you discontinue sending me THE CRISIS.

Yours truly,
E. L. MADISON.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Editor of THE CRISIS:

Many thanks to you for sending me THE CRISIS for December, 1933. I greatly appreciate this book and more so its contents. These are two things in the issue which attract the attention of not only myself, but a large number of my friends who have seen the book. They are "Tshekedi," and "Too Rich to be a Niggar." With the former, I followed up the case very strongly in some of our leading West Indian papers. I must own most truly that the information I obtained by reading THE CRISIS is much fuller than what I obtained from any of the papers dealing with "the flogging of an Englishman or European by an African Chief and his Court." It is not remarkable to see how quickly this poor and unfortunate Race is preyed upon by white beasts of prey. It is like beating "a crab in his own hole or fortress." If this punishment had been inflicted by the white to the poor and unfortunate native in the most brutal manner, as I daresay is too often the case, no more would have been said about it than the wind that blows. The punishment would have rested just where it was inflicted.

L. BERKELEY WILLIAMS,
Nevis, H. W. I.

Editor of THE CRISIS:

Your December CRISIS was a real Christmas present. I always enjoy those numbers more which have longer *Postscripts*, by Dr. DuBois. I want to thank him especially for "The A. F. of L.," and for "Peace" in this (December) number. I also liked his "The Son of God" very much. I hope that Dr. DuBois remains the editor of THE CRISIS through many years to come. We all appreciate the real contribution which he has made and is making toward better human relations.

JOHN LONG, *President*,
Southern Christian College,
Edwards, Miss.

THE CRISIS

presents:

Mary White Ovington and William Pickens are executive officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Both are well known authors.

•

Norman Thomas, twice a candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Socialist ticket, is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy. Mr. Thomas is the author of several books.

•

J. B. Matthews, formerly an instructor at Fisk and Howard, has just returned from Cuba. Mr. Matthews has recently resigned the secretaryship of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He is at present active with the American League Against War and Fascism.

•

Comna Asapansa-Johnson is a native of Sierra Leone, and was educated in England. He is at present the pastor of a church in Brooklyn, N. Y.

•

Walter White is Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is the author of several books.

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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE CRISIS, published monthly at Albany, N. Y., for April 1, 1933.

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. B. DuBois, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—THE CRISIS PUBLISHING CO., INC., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: THE CRISIS Publishing Company, Inc., 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

W. E. B. DuBOIS,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1933.

[SEAL] FRANK M. TURNER,
Notary Public.

Queens Co. Clks. No. 3003. Reg. No. 2843. N. Y. Co. Clks. No. 284. Reg. No. 4T176. Commission expires March 30, 1934.

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